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THE GERMAN REVOLUTION—FIRST STAGE.

By ANTON PANNEKOEK.
Of the Communist Party of Holland.

The logical result of the collapse of German Imperialism following the military defeat, was the revolution.

On November 4th the revolt in Kiel occurred. The ferment manifested itself first among the sailors. Rumours of revolt among the sailors were heard during the past year, and the Independent Social Democrats defended themselves against the accusations of complicity. Now it broke out anew, stronger and more general, " by mistake " as the *Vossiche Zeitung* said. Revolutions often occur through such mistakes—the conviction amongst the sailors that the fleet was ordered out to hopeless combat.

The sailors organised a council, arrested their officers, hoisted the red flag, and presented their demands to the Government. The social-patriot, Noske, arriving in Kiel, attempted to stop them but in vain.

On November 5th the movement extended to Hamburg, where the dock workers declared for a sympathetic strike; traffic ceased and the soldiers joined the revolution. Within the next few days the movement spread to Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, Lubeck, and throughout the northern regions generally, while Wolff's Bureau sent out vague reports of the revolt and the prediction that it would be quickly suppressed. In Berlin the intrigue of new ministries continued. Max von Baden disappeared, the Social Democratic Party presented an ultimatum to the Government and the *Vorwaerts* entreated the workers to remain " calm "—counter-revolutionary to the last. Meanwhile, the revolution continued to spread; in Cologne, Munich, Stuttgart, throughout Germany.

Everywhere Workers' and Soldiers' Councils sprang into being and imprisoned the officers and officials of the old regime, except those who declared their willingness to assist the revolution. Everywhere the new Republic was proclaimed, kings and princes abdicated and disappeared, and, finally, on November 9th, Emperor Wilhelm abdicated. Berlin, which remained calm until the last, went over to the revolution, the Soldiers' and Workers' Council took control without bloodshed, and the police of the old regime disappeared from the streets. The movement extended to the Western front, and Wilhelm was forced to flee from the General Staff Headquarters at Spa to the Netherlands.

With scarcely any resistance, in one assault, the revolution was victorious. This proves that the old system was already crumbling and had lost the entire sympathy of the masses, whose sufferings had reached their climax through the war and whose fear of the old regime was banished through the military defeat. This inflammable situation, where one spark spread the flames everywhere, enabled the secret preparations of the groups of the Independents and the extreme left for an armed uprising to break into action, and thus leaders sprang up everywhere to take command. So with the fall of German Imperialism also fell the political form wherein it functioned: the absolutistic, feudal, militaristic, police state was replaced by the democratic republic.

Through its rapidity and unanimity the revolution rested on the surface of civil society and could not as yet penetrate into the depths of the great masses. For those who accomplished it, the revolution, as all modern revolutions, is a proletarian revolution. But in its objects and results it is, as yet, only a purely political, and, therefore, a bourgeois revolution. This is evident from the fact that the social-patriotic leaders, Ebert and Scheidemann, were selected to function as the heads of the provisional government.

It seems at first glance unaccountable that the masses, driven to desperation on account of the war and its horrors, should overthrow and expel those responsible for the war, and, at the same time allow their accomplices, who always supported the war policy, to take the helm. But this is simply the result of political incompetence and traditional adherence to the old Social Democracy. The four years of war, through the pressure of the battlefield and the activity of the censor, made political development, except in small groups, impossible. The masses have destroyed the machinery that crushed them, they have won their political liberty, and now the political development, the orientation of what they further desire, can be started. They are still impressed with the naïve illusions of the first days of the revolution—even as in Paris in 1848; these later revolutions must first go through the development of former revolutions—the illusions of the people's unity, of liberty and democracy.

The various denominations and reflections of these fantastic illusions: we speak of the People's Republic, the rulers are called the People's representatives, we pass motions against all discord and dissension. The reality of society, the class distinction of bourgeoise and proletariat seems to have disappeared. As this reality again becomes apparent the class struggle will burst forth anew. It will be sharp and violent in Germany because both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are strong, their class consciousness is forceful and production is highly developed. This will be the next stage of the revolution; it is even now developing. (This was written in the latter part of November, 1918).

(Continued on page 1334.)

PREPARING THE WAY. By J. T. Murphy.

There appears to have grown up in the Socialist movement in this country a stereotyped method of training newcomers into the movement.

A heavy dose of economics is offered, to be followed or accompanied by a dose of industrial history. Literature in abundance is also thrust upon them, and about five years reading expected in the course of six months. Now no one recognises more than I do the value of a course of study of economics. No one recognises more than I the value of books, but I often think that many Socialists are so occupied with books they know nothing of the social conditions around them. Socialism has become a hobby to them, and plays the same part in their lives as the little Bethel does in the lives of other sections of the community. Marxism has become to them a method of analysis of books rather than a method of analysis of social relations.

Books should be an aid to development, not stumbling blocks to action. It is because of these things I want to call attention to the practical demands of a revolutionary period. If my reading of history is correct then it appears clear that revolutions are not prearranged but are thrust upon us. The initial activity is not usually even national in character, but takes upon itself a local character and spreads and spreads until it has reached from one end of the country to the other. But even if it were not so, even if a general movement of the workers took upon itself a completely ordered national form, and simultaneously happened throughout the country it would not do otherwise than emphasise the points I am about to make.

The times demand, with all their revolutionary potentialities, attention to the actual conditions around us, not simply for the purpose of focussing the grievances of the workers, but for the purpose of being prepared for the development of revolutionary situations. It is foolish to wait for spontaneous generation of organisation and equipment which experience has taught us will be needed in a crisis. To the degree that we anticipate the needs of a revolutionary crisis and prepare the way, to that degree do we make easy the success of our activities.

It is one thing to act in negative fashion, to stop production, for example. It is another thing to control production and distribution. For the first any old or new organisation will do. For the latter purposes, however, definite organisation is required, and also a knowledge of all the resources to hand. Glasgow, Belfast, and Limerick have clearly shown the potentialities of the mass movements and the needs when the issue shifts in the course of the struggle. To feed the masses out on strike is a far different proposition from the cessation of work, and that problem is thrust more and more forcibly upon the strike committees the longer the strike lasts. It is in that change of issue that there looms up the possibility of a revolutionary situation leading to a revolution. To anticipate the requirements of such a situation, therefore, demands a knowledge of all the local resources which are likely to be of value in such a crisis. Food, warmth, light, are essentials to all. How they can be organised and distributed becomes a practical problem which should not be left to hamper a critical situation but should be anticipated and prepared for in an organised fashion.

Much more can be said, but sufficient for the moment to indicate the demands of these critical situations and to call for more attention to the actual task of preparing the way for the march of the masses.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MASS MEETING

ON

THE PEACE TERMS,

TRAFALGAR SQUARE, SUNDAY, MAY 25th,

AT 3.30 P.M.

SPEAKERS—

TOM MANN,
SYLVIA PANKHURST,
MELVINA WALKER,
VICTOR BEACHAM,
WALTER PONDER,
JACK TANNER,
And others.

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

Continued from front page.

How are these contending forces arrayed?

In normal times the bourgeoisie rules through its powerful and perfectly organised state apparatus, whereas the masses are divided into separate groups and thus are powerless. Revolutions occur when the masses are spontaneouly inspired by *one* will and thus find power in their unity. New individuals take the helm, different forms of government come, but then the masses resume their daily tasks, the inspiring fire of *one* powerful will evaporates, they again fall apart as individuals and groups, while the bourgeois apparatus that remained and was deprived of its power only temporarily, retakes its old position unopposed by any organised force, and again becomes the stable organisation of rule. So, through the storms of the revolution class rule grows and becomes stronger as the experience of the revolution teaches it to pretend, to adopt the external forms of democracy, the dress of people's rule—the rulers change but the rule *over* the masses remains. To destroy this rule it is necessary to break the old government's organisation, the old bureaucracy, and to strengthen the temporary organisation of the masses into lasting power. This happened in Paris in 1871 by the Commune, and in Russia in November by the Soviets.

In Germany the workers have created such an organisation, the same as took place in Russia, in the formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. These councils gave the revolution a direct power which led to its initial speedy victory. They are the new instrument of power for the masses, the organisation of the proletarian masses as against the organisation of the bourgeoisie. They do not, as yet, know what they want, but they are there—not their programme but their very existence has revolutionary significance. A revolutionary government which wishes to be the organ of the Socialist proletariat should commence now to remove the old functionaries and abolish their functions.

The government of Ebert, Scheidemann and Haase has done the contrary. It has attempted to force the Soldiers' Council into a subordinate commission of advice and to restore the disciplinary powers of the officers which has resulted, in many places, in strong resistance and refusal by the soldiers. It has maintained the old bureaucracy and allowed it to continue its rule; it had done the same as every bourgeois party does when it assumes control—taken for itself the best positions and left all else in *status quo ante*. It has retained the old generals in command of the army and has made no attempt to further revolutionary propaganda amongst the soldiers. Thus, by allowing the apparatus of the ruling class to remain intact it openly encourages the counter-revolution. Already the bureaucrats openly denounce the "government of dilettantes," the generals at the front order the red flag hauled down, every reaction is encouraged.

The bourgeoisie is entirely satisfied with this government, especially since it announced that no change will be made in property rights and that the banks will not be nationalised. The reason for these announcements is that the government is trying to rely upon the whole population, upon the workers and the bourgeoisie alike, thus, upon the co-operation of the classes it hopes to be the government of the "continued God's peace." This is a reflection of the unconsciousness of the masses, and will become increasingly impossible with the more forceful awakening of the class struggle.

For the time being the government swings between the classes, it has conservative deeds for the bourgeoisie and revolutionary phrases for the workers—because the bourgeoisie is alertly class conscious and not easily defrauded, while the workers are not yet fully awakened. The first part, the appeasement of the middle classes is taken care of by Ebert and Scheidemann, while the nice Radical speechmaking is the task of the so-called "Left Wing," the Independents: Dittman and Barth, who were included in the government for this reason.

The majority Socialists lack confidence in Socialism and in the ability of the proletariat. They do not dare to socialise society against the bourgeoisie, they are afraid to rule without the old bureaucracy. The rule of the workers appears to them—even as to the bourgeoisie—to be chaos; their own theoretic inability makes them fear the gigantic task which the historical situation imposes upon the German proletariat. For this reason they want a National Constituent Assembly at the earliest possible moment to relieve them of responsibility.

The middle class also wants the convocation of this assembly because through it they hope to restore normal conditions, the establishment of a "stable" government which would send the councils of workers home with expressions of thanks for services rendered. This has made some of the workers reflect and especially among the Independents they begin to doubt and strive to delay the convocation of the assembly. The Independents occupy in the coalition the place which the social-patriots formerly occupied in the bourgeois government, namely, to prevent the workers from rebelling against the government. But they are compelled on account of the revolutionary tendencies amongst the workers, to resist the ultra-conservative dealings of the government.

This explains the growing friction between Kurt Eisner [since assassinated), the leader of the Bavarian Councils, and Barth, on one side, and Ebert and Scheidemann on the other. The Independents also propose plans for moderate socialisation—not all at once, no experiments! They propose beautiful plans for the upbuilding of Socialist production upon the basis of great industries and great agriculture whose support they must have. They do not think about the fact that Socialism is not a question of the nationalisation of industry, but is a question of the power of the proletariat—in the theoretic writings of Kautsky nothing is said about this! The result will be that when the bourgeoisie again assume power it will make an end of all these plans or realise them in its own way as State Socialism.

Besides the Independents already go arm in arm with Jaffe, the Bavarian Professor of Economy, who during the war outlined a project for extensive State Socialism, which is better called State Capitalism. The two parties, the majority Socialists and the Independents will, without a doubt unite with the radical bourgeois parties upon this State Socialism programme, provided the proletariat does not intervene. While the Government is only concerned with externals and the maintenance of order—which, in reality, becomes increasingly chaotic—the friction between the classes develops. The bourgeoisie organise White Guards, the workers form Red Guards, and in secret reaction conspires and prepares for civil war. And while the arrival of the troops strengthens the reactionaries, the revolutionary spirit flames amongst the workers.

The great struggle which must develop will be between the bourgeoisie, openly or covertly represented by the Social Democratic and the Independent parties, and the revolutionary movement, now called the Communist Party but which during the war was embodied in the Spartacus Group and the Bremen Internationalists. Although, as an organisation it is not yet distinct and apart from the Social Democracy and the Independents the Communist Party is in direct opposition, it defends the dictatorship of the proletariat as against democratic parliamentarism and is opposed to the convocation of the National Assembly; it demands the abolition of Capitalism and the annulment of state debts. It represents the ideal of the Russian Bolshevik party although not directly connected with it, on account of friction between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin. By the bourgeoisie and the Social Democracies the Communists are represented as being the Bolsheviki, and all the denunciation and misrepresentation directed against the Russian Bolsheviki are also directed against them. Many motions adopted by the Soldiers' Councils—especially at the front, where they are least developed politically, and where, above all, they desire rest and peace—express their abhorrence of Bolshevism. As yet the Communists are but a small minority, and the social-patriots and the bourgeoisie use this fact to consolidate their forces. The influence of the Communists upon the workers, however, is growing by leaps and bounds.

The international situation, the threatening food shortage and the menace of the Entente troops are great obstacles to revolutionary developments in Germany. From a military point of view Germany is absolutely at the mercy of the Entente, and, economically, she is also dependent upon the Allies. Her stores of foodstuffs are very small, and she is dependent upon the goodwill of the Poles for grain from the Eastern provinces. Through the loss of Lorraine Germany has not enough iron ore to supply her industries. The Entente had already notified her that the delivery of grain depends upon the maintenance of order and the establishment of an orderly government. The Entente, which sent troops to suppress Communistic Russia and restore the bourgeoisie, is careful not to allow a revolutionary Germany to assist Russia, even morally; and *Vorwaerts*—ever the lackey of the powers that be, first of Wilhelm and now of the Entente—is terribly agitated against the proposal of Russia to send representatives to the German Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. *Vorwaerts*, the bourgeois press, and the Government all combine to inspire the population with fear of the Entente threat, and to paint the economic situation as black as possible. They thus hope to stifle the revolutionary will of the workers, and it is beyond doubt that they will be successful with a considerable section of the masses.

There is little doubt but that the Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils called for December 16th will support, by a big majority, the bourgeois government of Ebert-Haase. These councils are not by any means pure proletarian institutions; in the Soldiers' Councils are the officers; in the Workers' Councils are the Trade Union and party leaders. These men will not allow the revolution to go any further if they can prevent it.

But there are other objective material factors that will force the workers from the bottom up. In the first place the opposition between capital and labour—the first assault brought the proclamation of the eight-hour day and the establishment of the Workers' Councils in the factories. Now that the reaction is setting in the manufacturers are endeavouring to take back these concessions and reduce wages, while, on the other hand, the workers are demanding further reforms. Here and there clashes, in the shape of strikes, are occurring which require extraordinary efforts on the part of the Independent agents of the Government to conciliate. This will eventually compel the Government to act and force it to choose between pressing the bourgeoisie or having further sections of the masses arrayed against it. In the second place the economic want will effect the Government still more. The misery and deprivation the war has brought has been so horrible that the workers will not be able to carry any further burden, and if the Government does not actively assist them—and this means that it must take from the possessors—then the revolutionary spirit will receive fresh impetus among the masses.

In times of want, such as confront Germany now and in the coming years, only a government which by its deeds and its viewpoint will not be opposed to the great masses can exist. Consequently it is not to be expected that the present Government of Germany will be successful in confining the revolution to its present purely political reform character; but the attitude of the masses now is assisting the Government to a great extent, and is, therefore, strengthening the bourgeoisie, and will increase its power of resistance in the coming civil war.

Much depends on the class instincts of the coming Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. If it will lay the foundation for power, the power of the workers and soldiers, then the proletariat will be well armed for the coming struggle.

[Reprinted from *The Revolutionary Age*.]

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

OUTSIDE WANDSWORTH PRISON.

By Clara Gilbert Cole.

Mrs. Cole who, in support of the action of the conscientious objectors, has stood with a banner outside Wandsworth Gaol daily since January 15th gives the following account of some of her experiences.

The majority of the soldier prisoners are young, their ages ranging from 17 to 20. Some of the lads joined up when they were 15 and one soldier told me he ran away and joined up at 14. These young lads cannot stand the discipline. Most of these boys and men would never have seen the inside of a prison but for the war.

As the escort to whom one had been handcuffed rubbed his badly-marked wrists, he said the lad was dangerous—he was only 16 years old. That morning he had asked for a drink of water and upon receiving it threw the pail over the officer. "A high-spirited lad" would have been the verdict had he behaved thus to an alien enemy.

Two lads were brought up and as the door shut their escorts fumed up and down, declaring they were heroes and ought to be decorated for what they had done, not imprisoned. They had been twice over the top, taken prisoners in Germany and escaped, then, just for overstaying their leave, they were imprisoned. I have yet to see officers, either in handcuffs, or escorted to be punished by drill until they drop, and, as one soldier said, to be picked up to drill again. No, the officers order the punishment instead, and as a C.O. remarked: "The principle of militarism is to make the men more afraid of their own officers than they are of the enemy."

One day about fifty soldiers went in with fixed bayonets, and from the mutterings around I gathered that ghastly things go on in the military side of a prison as well as in the trenches, but these are committed in the name of discipline, justice, and freedom.

Prisoners going out and prisoners coming in meet and greet with little to look forward to in either case, as I am told prisoners are released before their sentences are up, in order that they may be sent abroad and then to the front—a mean way of getting recruits.

On January 25th a group of French Canadians asked what my banner meant, and offered me money. I thanked them and said I was doing it for love. They were anxious to know about it; as they knew little English and I less French we were getting on slowly until a soldier stepped forward saying he understood English perfectly and would act as interpreter. After that we had a good talk on "The International," Socialism, and the war. They were war weary, and only anxious for home; agreed with all I said, emphasising each point by sharp nods and gestures, and again tried to press money upon me. Their trusting faces were made for better things than war, and it must be torture for such men to live in the army. They said they had learnt many things since coming here and were quite disillusioned. I said they must not judge England, or English people, in war-time.

A girl wife came out of prison and told me her husband and another C.O. who were on the military side were to be sent to France. Knowing what that meant, I understood her state of mind as she hurried off to try and set the indifferent and cumbersome machinery of the War Office in motion, and then, in case he should be sent away without warning, came back to watch the prison for hours in extreme cold, as so many poor relatives and friends of both C.O.s and soldiers do.

A Belgian officer slowly read my placard, which bore the inscription: "We protest against the persecution and imprisonment of Conscientious Objectors to war," then clapped his hands and nodded his head.

As a white-faced soldier read the banner and entered the prison he added: "And for us too." The door clanged to before I could reply, and my heart surged with pity for him and revolt at capitalism, that has made conscripts of us all in some measure, for is not some portion of every penny we spend used to keep the war going?

One old gentleman of 85 often passes and greets me with a sympathetic word, and at parting "Goodbye and God bless you. I am glad to see you here again."

Two gipsy women, wonderful characters for devotion and common sense, who reminded one of 'Lavengro,' are quite old friends. The tall one, with big beautiful, antique gold ear-rings, a very straight back, extremely clean and tidy, a white apron, and a face that has known trouble, told me her son is in for a year, only served a few weeks, but she comes daily fearing he will be sent to France before his sentence expires, then on to the front, as I am told is often the case. She said, pointing to one side of the prison: "Little did I think many years ago before those buildings were up, when I used to throw little plugs of tobacco for the prisoners wheeling their barrows, that I should have a son in there." I longed to be able to recognise and watch for her son, it seemed hard to think he might pass out and I could not tell him he was not forgotten. One day as we three women were chatting together, I saw a man advancing who always threw a scornful word. I waited expectantly, feeling I need not defend either myself or the C.O. He remarked: "You ought to be ashamed of yourself," thinking he would surely be backed up by those two women. For a few moments the air was blue with a strange language; when the atmosphere cleared mine enemy was walking away quicker than he came, and has not since troubled me. Before he was great on rushing out to kill Germans, yet ran away from two women's tongues.

Red letter day to-day had more sympathisers than usual; one, an elderly working man, questioned an unsympathetic escort about my placard, but not feeling satisfied with the replies came across to me and asked me to explain, saying he could not read. After my explanation, he said: "I should be in prison, too, if I were a young man." Then I said: "I should carry the banner for you also."

A woman who said she had noticed me for many days asked me to tell her all about it, afterwards thanked me very much, and said joyfully: "I shall be able to show my friends these papers you have given me." A bluejacket and soldier approved of my banner, and gave me a fair chance to state the case. Another said: "You are a sticker," and two prisoners (soldiers) came out who had evidently changed their thinking, and said my banner was quite right. So, though the snow was falling, these and other signs that people are coming to after the chloroform of the press, made the day more bearable.

An armed escort with fixed bayonets of between forty and fifty men took in a batch of prisoners, mostly boys. What had they done?

"You are a marvel of endurance," said a warder.

A sergeant, in no way a pacifist, for he would not even discuss my views, wanted to know if I received money for this work. Although not agreeing with my views, he told me that the other sergeants had said I was well paid for the job, but he had maintained I got nothing and wanted me to corroborate it. I told him untold wealth would not buy what was my labour of love.

Saturday, February 8th, an ambulance car, No. L.U. 4470 C39 drove up, out of it hobbled with difficulty a German prisoner with one leg accompanied by a soldier with fixed bayonet. What tragedy lay behind that and many other strange entrances and exits, I dumbly wondered.

I had a disheartening morning, for some soldiers offered personal violence for the first time during my sojourn of a month. One took me by the shoulders and pushed me along, after threatening to take my banner and trying to make me go away. A woman joined in, and threatened what she would do. I did not remove my hands from my muff, but told them I did not take orders from soldiers, that I should resist no personal violence, but if they took my banner away I should go home and get another as I had thirteen more. For two hours afterwards they waited out in extreme cold, not daring to attack me again, nor yet daring to demand admittance to the warm waiting-room that was on the other side of the wall, against which they tried to rest their tired bodies. The adjutant always waits inside; as usual, the bottom dog suffers.

A bright girl with pretty hair, waited long and restlessly with a sailor friend; finally the door opened for her and out came her lover. As he stepped over the threshold she flung her arms wide, then clasped him tight, let him go only to repeat the action. It was so passionate, so spontaneous, that every one was touched, and as the doorkeeper goodnaturedly called out "Hold on a bit," the tension was relaxed, the sailor friend shouldered the kit, whilst the girl grasped her lover's arm tightly with both hands, as though to keep him from the escort, who smilingly and considerately walked behind.

A sergeant came up to three soldiers to whom I was speaking and told them to clear off or I should convert them to Bolshevism. After they had gone away, I remarked to the sergeant: "You are not afraid of me, are you?" In a friendly voice he replied: "It's a pity every one else has not got your intelligence." A soldier told me that when a friend of his received his discharge papers, he tore them up, laid them on the officer's table, and said: "Now I am going to be a conscientious objector."

To-day I saw two C.O.s going back to prison. They had been out to attend, one a mother's funeral and the other a sister's. I was looking out for a third, who had just had his 21st birthday in prison and was out at his sweetheart's funeral. Fancy two to three years in prison, these painful hours of release, then picture (if you can) the going back, the cell, the thoughts and tears, the silence, no kindly voice, no tender touch to soften the bitterness of death.

February 26th.—Three women in wretched health and much worried asked me to protest for the soldiers in prison and told me the soldier they were visiting had been let off a three years' sentence in order that he might go to the war. He was now re-arrested to serve his former conviction. They thought going to the war would exempt him from serving his previous term.

I saw Miss H. who told me she was going to Palestine the next day on relief work; her brother had been on work strike for months. This means no books, no exercise, no visits, like living in a dead world. The tears fell from her eyes as she quietly told me that she just came to look at the prison where he was for the last time before she went away, and excused her tears, saying it made them fall to see the soldiers being taken into prison. I wanted to help, but a helpless feeling tied my tongue and hands, as has so often happened before outside those gloomy gates. Just as I was rolling up my banner a friend handed me hot tarts and a cake. A soldier came up and said: "I was a volunteer, but I am not proud of it." To-day I hear the Australians have mutinied inside the prison. The new Governor insulted the C.O.s in unmentionable words, ordered one into irons and dark cell, and all on bread and water—this with the armistice signed, after all the lads have gone through, and a law still in the land that allows a man to have a conscience!

Saw an old mother picking up fags from expectoration at the same hour Princess Pat was being married in shimmering robes, riding in a carriage made by people who have to stand up in trams after exhausting labour. A boy prisoner as he was being escorted in said sadly: "I wish I had been a C.O."

March 21st.—A poorly clad woman, a small child, and an old mother, shivering with cold and eyes so weak she couldn't read the placard, asked me to tell her about it, and in return unfolded a tale of misery that would move any one save this Government. Her son hearing there was a death at home and knowing there were matters his old mother could not understand went home (to protect her) without leave, &c. Result imprisonment. As we were talking a Canadian soldier came up (I had been speaking to him previously), pointing to me he said: "She is quite right." At that moment the son they were waiting for came out. The wife kissed him, he caught up the child and hugged it; the escort hurried him on, and the old mother, crying bitterly a dozen yards behind tottered forward to catch up with the quick stride of the impatient escort. The eyes of my friend the Canadian were moist as he said: "Look at that poor old woman crying."

I overheard one of the sergeants say: "The army is all right. I never had a warm overcoat or a decent pair of boots till I joined up."

My fifteenth week; a Canadian came up and said he had seen me weeks ago and wanted to speak but didn't get the chance. He said he had never forgotten "The greatest Conscientious Objector and the picture"; that it had burnt into his brain and he had gone back and told the orderly about it. I had an hour's talk in the pouring rain, and—"Mothers, you don't know what your boys are going through."

With apologies for so much use of the pronoun "I," this concludes *some* of my experiences outside Wandsworth Prison.

THE TRUTH ABOUT GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

Having secured "some just (!) territorial gains in their home borders" and in Africa "a million square miles of the richest part of Africa—the Congo basin," Belgian capitalists want also "the remarkable native state or confederation of states known as Ruanda." In 1890, by an agreement between the Powers, Ruanda was handed over to Germany. H. H. Johnston, who is considered a great authority on Africa, says in a letter to *The Times*: "To do Germany justice, when her officials realised the cohesion and political importance of the Ruanda kingdom, they acquiesced in the kings and chiefs retaining something not far off autonomy, and Ruanda regained or acquired as much sense of nationality as did the kingdom of Buganda under British rule."

Now that the war is over some of the truth is beginning to come out. It was said during the war that the Germans must never have their colonies back, because of their unexampled cruelty to the natives!

The Allies are now squabbling greedily over the spoils.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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GOVERNMENT SPYING.

The *Daily Herald* has done the workers a service in giving publicity to the system of Secret Reports organised by Churchill and the Army Council, in order that they may know what is going on in the minds of the soldiers and may guard against any possibility of united action by the Army and the soldiers in industry. Winston and the Army Council arranged for bulletins as to the willingness of the soldiers "to preserve the public peace," to "assist in strike-breaking," to "go overseas, especially to Russia." The Government wanted to know the effect outside trade union and other agitations have upon the soldiers, "whether there is any growth of Trade Unionism amongst them," "whether any soldiers' councils have been formed," and so on. The *Herald* further informs us that a similar espionage is going on in the industrial world, that Scotland Yard has its spies in every working class organisation, and keeps its card indexes of "suspects" and black lists of "dangerous" persons.

Is any one surprised? This capitalist government is now actually waging war in Russia and Hungary, where the workers have set up a Socialist administration. Does any one imagine that the same British Government would refrain from keeping itself informed as to the movements of the workers at home, which affect it so much more vitally? Every one knows that an extensive and costly espionage system has been maintained by successive British Governments in Ireland. British workers know that the British Army of occupation of 58,000 troops is stationed "to preserve the public peace and vested interests" in Ireland. British workers know that the tanks were sent to Glasgow to overawe the strikers, that a special D.O.R.A. notice was got out to coerce the E. T. U. when it threatened to down tools. Surely it is no longer possible for British workers to imagine that British Capitalist Governments are impartial! Surely it is impossible for British workers to ignore the fact that the British Government, in alliance with other Capitalist Governments, is engaged in a big national and international offensive against the growing power of the workers.

The Government represents the Capitalists; therefore, of course, the Government is opposed to Trade Unionism, when it is a fighting force and when its officials are not engaged in preventing the growth of revolutionary ideas amongst the rank and file. Of course the Government is opposed to the growth of Trade Unionism in the Army, because organisation on class lines by the soldiers would strike at the very heart of the power by which the capitalist system is maintained. Remember that the capitalist system is a system in which a small minority of the people maintains its control over the vast majority, partly by consent of the majority, partly by arming one section of the people, and securing its consent to use those arms against other sections at the word of command. Anything that undermines the soldiers' consent to fire upon the civilian worker, or to fight against the workers' armies overseas; anything that undermines the consent of the majority to be governed by the minority is a danger to the existing order of society.

So long as the workers do not seriously menace that order or inconvenience its work, they can do as they please, the Government does not trouble even to spy on them, and their speeches and newspapers are not censored. Only when the Government fears criticism or attack from the workers, does it exercise coercion. Even in Ireland speech and the press have been comparatively free when the people were apathetic.

As a matter of fact, when the Government meets us with coercion and attacks our propaganda we should congratulate ourselves; it is a sign that we are making headway. Though many of its members do not fully realise it, the mission of the Labour Movement is the overthrow of Capitalism and the merging of all other social grades into an emancipated working class. To protest that our propaganda is not directed towards a dangerous attack on the established order is, therefore, unworthy of our mission and harmful to our cause.

Appeals for the release or acquittal of our comrades on the ground that they did not incite to revolution, that they advised their hearers to respect the law, that they had no desire to disturb the Capitalist peace, or to cause dissatisfaction in the Army or Navy are altogether mistaken. The standpoint of the Revolutionary Socialist should be that it is actually a demerit to fail to attack the established order, and that every loophole for undermining its foundations should be seized.

Appeals for the release of comrades on the score that they did nothing should be stopped; instead of appealing we should act.

Attempts to suggest that Capitalism has attacked obedient workers, anxious only to work industriously for their employers and to keep order have always a hollow and hypocritical ring; Capitalism attacks the workers, not when they are docile, but when it fears their rebellion. Subservient peoples are never massacred by their rulers; even the Czars reserved the knout for use in districts where they were opposed.

Labour's protagonists are too much inclined to adopt an apologetic defensive; Capitalist politicians thoroughly understand the value of offensive tactics, and their menacing charges of Bolshevism, disloyalty, and revolutionary tendencies are apt to dismay the timid labour leader, who retires in confusion. Robert Williams, so revolutionary on the Albert Hall platform, has allowed the notorious Bottomley to score a victory over him because, after challenging a debate, Williams had not the courage to defend the position that a worker is better off as a citizen of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic than as a subject of the British Empire.

According to the *Daily Herald*, Williams is now protesting against the refusal of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to hold a special conference for ascertaining the views of rank-and-file Trade Unionists on the maintenance of conscription, military intervention in Russia, the blockade, and the release of conscientious objectors. The conference would be worthless unless it led to action; but why should Mr. Williams worry about the matter at all? Surely the Triple Alliance, the strongest force in the Labour movement, can act on its own initiative; why should it wait for the Parliamentary Committee? Mr. Williams is secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation. Why does he not publicly use his influence with the transport workers to down tools?

It may be said that he is outvoted in committee; surely the war which the British Government is making on the workers of Hungary and Russia is serious enough to justify Mr. Williams in making a direct appeal to the rank-and-file. The British Government is supplying the arms which are murdering our comrades overseas; without the assistance of members of the Transport Workers' Federation they could not do it. Surely the occasion should be big to induce Mr. Williams to risk something upon the effort!

Perhaps Williams is saying, as many do, that the selfish and narrow-minded British workers are deaf to every appeal which does not affect their own immediate comfort, and that they must be induced to down tools on some question of hours or wages before they can be induced even to listen to the ideal of class solidarity. That is not our opinion; but in case Mr. Williams holds it, we want to know why, when Belfast, the Clyde and the Port of London were striking, when the engineering workers were trying to summon up courage to join them, Mr. Williams made no move to bring the Transport Workers and the Triple Alliance into line. So far from the influence of Robert Williams being counted for solidarity at that juncture, he was quoted as urging the engineers not to support the dockyard workers, but to wait for action by the transport workers at some future date. Yet the intervention in Russia was already in full swing, conscription and the blockade were in force; there were many more conscientious objectors in gaol than there are to-day. Why was Mr. Williams then engaged in damping down action?

We are prepared to welcome him as a convert to the doctrine that "if action is to be taken it will never come from above. It must come from beneath." We hope he really means it, and we are looking to him to act. Bluffing is of no use; it impresses no one—least of all the Government. There has been far too much of it in the Labour Movement.

Come, Mr. Williams, pull yourself together and stand to your words at last, even if the result should be the loss of your post, or a term in prison; there are numbers of others to take your place!

The Bradford Trades' Council is calling for the formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils as a reply to the strike-breaking policy of the War Office. That is an excellent plan. We hope that Bradford will take action, and will see to it that the Bradford Workers' and Soldiers' Council at least is directly representative of the rank and file.

In the meantime, will the Bradford Trades' Council take industrial action in Bradford to stop the war against the Workers' Soviets in Russia and Hungary?

THE OFFER OF SHIPYARDS TO TRADE UNIONS.

The Government's offer to sell the Chepstow and Beachley shipyards to the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades was accompanied by some amazing conditions. It was laid down that hours, rates, and conditions of labour were to be the same as those prevailing on the North-East coast, an impossible stipulation, for the only motive the workers could have had in going into the enterprise at all would have been to secure improved working conditions.

Another impossible proviso was that the Government should have joint control for the first three years. Yet the unions were to be responsible for the purchase price of the yards, and also for the cost of running them. The purchase money was to be borrowed and paid back at a rate agreed upon with the Government. Burdened with restrictions from which private undertakings are free, and in a geographical situation the value of which is doubtful, with hostile capitalist rings formed against them, the unions would probably have found themselves in a most difficult position. They were wise to refuse the offer. When the workers take control of industry they must control the whole industry, under conditions of their own making.

WHY ARE WE FIGHTING AFGHANISTAN

British aeroplanes have been dropping bombs upon the Afghans, and it is as well to recall here the denunciations of the German air raids.

The question as to why the British are fighting in Afghanistan at all is obscure. The *Times* reports that the Russian Government's wireless stations announce a revolution in Afghanistan led by Nagrestol (Nasrullah Khan), the uncle of the new Ameer, and brother of the murdered Ameer. Since the would-be rulers of Afghanistan are fighting amongst themselves, it seems unlikely that they should also be attacking the British Empire. It appears more probable to us that British Imperialism has seized on this as a favourable opportunity for annexing Afghanistan.

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THE PEACE TERMS.

Parliament Accepts the Muzzle.

Mr. Bonar Law has indicated that the Government will probably refuse Parliament any opportunity to discuss the Peace Terms. He said:—

"If the circumstances change so as to make it possible for us to permit of discussion without doing any harm we shall be very glad to give an opportunity."

If the Germans sign the infamous terms we shall again be plunged into war, yet members of Parliament tamely submitted to the muzzle; there were no protests. The Labour Party, as the second largest Party in the House, and, therefore, the Official Opposition, had the power to force a debate by moving a vote of censure on the Government for refusing to allow discussion; but the Labour Party is anxious to present a spectacle of National Unity against Germany; therefore it surrenders all its rights and becomes the obedient servant of rapacious capitalism in opposition to a German Government, which is precisely the sort of Government it would form in Britain if it could. Vernon Hartshorn displayed unexpected wisdom when, in the Irish debate, he said that the workers of the world are being "slowly but surely forced to the conclusion that Parliamentary Government is a fraud." Will he come out and join us in securing the Soviets?

THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL WAR.

Koltchak and Japanese Imperialism.

Japan has recognised General Koltchak's government, and it is rumoured that an agreement has been made between them, which, in certain events, may prove hostile to the Allies. Kerensky is working against Koltchak as vigorously as he worked for Allied intervention against the Soviets; it seems that only a Government in which he is given a prominent place will satisfy him.

The Allies are now showing a remarkable solicitude for Korea, which has lain under the domination of Japan for many a long year without any apparent notice being taken of its plight by the great Powers. American politicians are also complaining that the rights of 40,000,000 Chinamen are being infringed by Japan. All this shows that the capitalists of the Big Two are displeased that their Japanese rivals should be securing so many fields of wealth. Our "gallant Ally," Japan, begins to be accused of working to make itself all powerful in the East. The capitalist appetite is, indeed, insatiable; rather than miss any advantage, the various Governments are willing to drag the people into any number of new wars. We may yet see an Alliance of Japan and the Russian Czarists warring against the Allied Capitalists.

General Koltchak refuses to recognise the independence of Finland; it appears that if his hope of becoming the dictator of all the Russians be realised, he desires that his dominions shall be no smaller than those ruled over by the Czar. Therefore, it is said, there is a tendency for the Finnish Capitalist armies to hang back in their attack on Soviet Russia. May the squabbling greed of the capitalists who are attacking the Soviets lead to a confusion and disunity which will enable the Red Armies to succeed.

Soviet Russia is no doubt terribly menaced by the blockade, as well as by the ammunitions and troops which the Allies are sending to aid the counter-revolutionaries, but we are glad to learn, even from the Capitalist Press, that Bolshevism is making itself felt amongst the Finnish troops, and it is said that Finnish women have joined the Red Army.

The Hungarian Soviet, which was again and again reported to have fallen, still stands, and its influence is spreading to the armies attacking it.

THE "RAISE THE BLOCKADE" CASE.

The prosecution of the National Labour Press, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Jebb, and Mr. Moss, for publishing the facts about the blockade is a very flagrant partisan attack by the Government upon its political opponents.

Detailed Map of German Mineral Wealth allotted to France by Peace Treaty.

THE NEW EUROPE OF THE PEACE TREATY.

CAPITALISM *versus* SOCIALISM.

CHILD PENSIONS.

Mrs. Pember Reeves told the National Birth-rate Commission that the Fabian Women's Group had carried out "an experiment to investigate the causes of infant mortality." Under it a woman was allowed "*not* a comfortable house in a healthy neighbourhood, with plenty of good food and absolute freedom from fatiguing work; no, merely 2*s*. 6*d*. a week for her nurture before the birth of the child, and 5*s*. a week until the child attained the age of one year." Mrs. Reeves says: "It was a very imperfect experiment." Indeed, we think so!

Mrs. Reeves recommends that each child should be allowed by the State 5*s*. a week up to the age of 16 years, and that the mother should have 5*s*. a week during pregnancy and for a year after the birth. These grants, she says, should be dependent upon regular attendance at pre-natal and infant clinics, and maternity centres. If the authorities of these institutions should have "reason for anxiety," the home should be inspected, "and the action of the authorities should not cease until the surroundings of the child were wholesome and proper for its well-being."

"If the authorities should prove the parents to be unfit to be responsible for the well-being of their children, "the children should be removed into proper care, such as that of kindly relatives or of good foster-parents, and the grant should follow the child in every case."

We want to ask Mrs. Reeves whether she proposes to apply these compulsory provisions to people of every class. Would the Society rakes, drug-takers and drunkards, come under this rule? That is important.

The grants suggested by Mrs. Pember Reeves are, of course, too small to effect their purpose.

In America the Mothers' Pensions system gave 10*s*. a week to each child *before* the war, and the cost of living in the U.S.A. was lower before the war than it is in Britain to-day. Mrs. Reeves would need at least to double her grant to the child, and quadruple that of the mother before she could feel she had removed the family from actual want. The standard of comfort would, of course, depend on what other sources of income the family could count on.

But the fact must be recognised that so long as the capitalist system remains, employers of labour will endeavour to use such grants as a means of lowering wages, the tendency of the employing class being to force wages down to the lowest level at which their employés can or will subsist. Moreover, the cost of living would certainly rise. There is a marked general tendency always for the rise in prices to outstrip that in wages. The fact is that when we endeavour to secure reforms within the capitalist system, we are engaged in an effort very much like that of the squirrel in his cage.

Compare the abominable system of espionage and patronage which is growing up around the poor mother, and which would flourish apace on these proposals of Mrs. Reeves, with the Russian Soviet Socialist ideal, which instead of regulating the poor mother, abolishes her poverty. The Soviet Socialist system abolishes the exploitation for gain of one human being by another, by socialising the land and industry and giving to all an equal remuneration for their labour and an equal claim on the wealth of the community. It abolishes ignorance by making all teaching free and ensuring to every child an education continuing up to 20 years of age.

It is interesting to remember that one of the earliest acts of the Russian Soviet Government was the appointment of Alexandra Kolontai as Minister of Social Insurance and the establishment of Palaces of Maternity where it is optional for women to spend 16 weeks, and from which home helps are sent out to take the place of the mother during her absence.

Women who desire to help other women must cease to look down on them from above, and abandon their pretentions to superiority and their claims to exercise inquisitorial powers. The only really effective way of helping the poor woman is to do one's part in establishing the reign of economic equality; all else is tinkering and gross impertinence.

RUSSIA'S CARE FOR HER MOTHERS AND CHILDREN.

A Decree of Alexandra Kolontai.

Two million young lives every year have been sacrificed in Russia because of the darkness of the oppressed people, because of the apathy of the Class State. Two million suffering mothers yearly have saturated Russian soil with tears, and covered with toil-worn hands the early graves of the innocent victims of the hideous social order. Human thought, which for centuries has sought a free path, has at last reached the bright age of workers' reforms, in which the mother will be safeguarded for the child, and the child for the mother. Among the conspicuous examples of capitalist morality were orphan-asylums crowded beyond their capacity, with a colossal death-rate and a horrible method of nursing the children—a method which was an insult to the sacred feelings of a helpless toiling mother, and which made of a mother-citizen a dull nursing animal. All these nightmare horrors have, fortunately, been swallowed up in the dark mists of the past since the victory of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution.

You, working-women, toiling mother-citizens, with your responsive hearts—you brave builders of a new social life—you ideal teachers, physicians, and nurses—all of you are called by new Soviet Russia to contribute your minds and feelings to help build the great structure of Social Welfare for future generations. All central and local institutions of the Commissariat of Public Welfare which serve the children, from the date of publication of this decree, are merged into one organization, and transferred to the supervision of the Department for Safeguarding Mothers and Children, so as to create an integral system, together with the institutions for the care of pregnant women, for the purpose of bringing up mentally and physically strong citizens. The Petrograd Maternity Home (formerly a private institution), with all its auxiliary branches, becomes a part of the system of "Palaces for Safeguarding Motherhood and Infancy," and is named, "Palace of Infancy." The Moscow Maternity Home becomes part of the Moscow Institute of Motherhood, and is named, "The Moscow Institute of Infancy."

For the purpose of hastening the realisation of the necessary reforms for safeguarding childhood in Russia, a special committee has been organised in connection with the Department for Safeguarding Mothers and Children. This committee is composed of representatives of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, of workers' organisations, and of specialists in children's health and education. The following principles shall guide the work of this Committee:

1. Safeguarding the mother for the child. The best milk for the child—the milk from its mother's breast.

2. Bringing up the child in the atmosphere of a widely-developed Socialist community.

3. Creating for the child conditions which will lay a foundation for the development of its physical and mental strength, and for a bright understanding of life.

People's Commissary of Public Welfare: Alexandra Kolontai.

Member of the Collegium, supervising the Department for Safeguarding Mothers and Children: N. Korolev.

Secretary: Zvetkov. January 31st, 1918.

[This Decree was issued more than a year ago, much progress has been made in Russia since then.]

THE RED FLAG IN IRELAND.

REMINISCENCES OF MAY DAY.

Thank God for the authorities, especially that they were to the fore on May 1st. They have sanctified the Red Flag with the frown of their disapproval.

In other countries where May Day has been generally observed for many years one will not readily understand or realise what a great event the celebration in Ireland of May Day this year means. For the first time in Ireland the people have demonstrated their comradeship with the workers of the world. They demonstrated their realisation that communication with the world henceforth must be through the ranks of Labour. And with that demonstration has come to them the realisation that they are the important body of the community, that without them their masters could not exist, but that *they* could exist without their masters.

For the people in Ireland that is a great step forward. It spells the awakening of the people to the fact that political freedom is not the be-all of freedom; that to be truly free economic freedom must be linked with the political freedom. The inevitable has come. With the awakening of revolutionary spirit (caused by the insurrection of 1916) has come an intensive growth of revolutionary thought. The people of Ireland have always felt a quick sympathy with any movement by a people towards freedom, and have always rejoiced at the overthrow of a tyrant or oppressor. Since the overthrow of the Czar the Irish people have watched, as far as they were able, the acts of the liberated Russians, and the system they have set up in the place of the old tyranny. And they have found it good. It appeals to them, it is easy for them to understand, easy for them to approve. They have placed it side by side with the systems that prevail in the free republics of France and America, and have decided that the Russian system is the system that appeals to them, and which appears the most just. And we in Ireland have long been hungry for justice; our hunger has whetted our desire.

But to get back to May Day. All over the country it was observed with the exception of a few places in the North. The thrifty, hard-headed Northerner could not support a principle at the expense of a day's pay, so we had the amazing spectacle of "Progressive Ulster" being two days behind the world in celebrating May Day. As one of the reports has it, "They had a May Day of their own on May 3rd."

A general order appears to have been sent out by the authorities to the police all over the country that they were to warn the people not to carry Red Flags under pain of prosecution. I will take a few extracts from reports on May Day to show how the people met this order. The first is from a town in Monaghan, one of the Ulster counties.

"The workers assembled in their meeting halls, and dividing themselves into squads with a leader to each, went on an organising mission through the country districts and stopped all work, turning back all vehicles going to the railway station or to the town. It was market day in the town, but a week previous notices had been posted up in the surrounding districts announcing—'The World rests on May 1st, 1919—no work on that day.' The local police, however, went round the town trying to get the shopkeepers to open, and promising them police protection. On the morning of May 1st the police came into the town and posted themselves at various points. Notwithstanding their activities the shopkeepers closed down with one exception, whose eight assistants were brought out. The day was brought to a fitting conclusion by a workers' dance."

This in a district scarcely two months organised!

In another report from the North we are told that the police issued the usual warning about the Red Flag. The workers had a red banner. On receipt of the warning a deputation went to the police to know if their banner could be called a Red Flag. "We want to know," said one of the deputation, "if our banner can be called a Red Flag. If not we'll have to get one."

Report from Maryborough.—"Labour Day was observed as a general holiday, all places of business, without exception being closed, and there being an all round downing of tools. The great country demonstration which testified to the strength of Labour was a huge success, and made a big impression on all who witnessed it. The procession was quite as imposing as that which took place on the memorable 23rd of April last year, and even more so, having regard to the display of red flags and banners, which was quite an innovation. Red rosettes were generally worn by the processionists. The day was not merely a "red letter" day. It was a Red Flag Day, and no other colour but red could be seen. Who would dare to sing 'The Green above the Red' on a day like this? The speeches, delivered at the great public meeting were masterpieces of oratory and well worth listening to, and the conduct of the crowds after the meeting was exemplary, reflecting the utmost possible credit on the Labour movement: *Labor omnia vincit!* Altogether Labour can feel proud of its achievement on May Day in Maryborough." This extract is taken from the local press.

At Kilmacthomas 2,000 marched in a procession headed by a red banner bearing the inscription "A Workers' Republic."

Maynooth workers marched to Kilcock carrying the Red Flag triumphantly, although warned not to do so by the police, who threatened prosecutions.

(Continued on page 1339.)

Parliament As We See It.

May 12th.—Mr. Bonar Law assured the grabbers that the sum of £5,000,000,000, stated in the peace terms, is merely to be paid on account by Germany!

CHEPSTOW.

May 13th.—During the course of various questions Colonel Wilson, on behalf of the Government, admitted some illuminating facts about the Chepstow and Beachley national shipyards. For the past four months the Government tried to dispose of the shipyards, without success; however, an offer to "co-operate with Labour" has been made, and the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades asked to purchase. All the capitalist newspapers welcomed this great opportunity granted to Labour; but luckily Labour had the good sense to decline to undertake the running of these Government failures.

GENEROSITY!

Major Astor, in reply to Mr. Preston (C.U.), said that 12*s.* 6*d.* per week is paid to the necessitous wives of Russians who returned to Russia for military service in compliance with the Anglo-Russian (Military Service) Convention. Yet there is much talk about not forgetting the "loyal" Russians who helped the Allies. Would it not be a simpler plan to assist these poor women at our doorstep as a proof of gratitude, than to try to ruin the masses in Russia in an attempt to help the aristocrats?

THE MOCKERY OF PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Bonar Law admitted, in reply to Colonel Wedgwood (L.), that the Entente is preparing "naval and military operations against Petrograd," and that a British squadron has been ordered to Helsingfors. When cross-examined Mr. Law tried to escape from his admission. In so doing he must have made it clear even to the dense that Parliament is a mere sham, for he said: "*It must be obvious that if anything of the kind were contemplated it would be impossible to say anything about it.*" In short, it was a challenge to the House to assert its rights, but it seemingly has no self-respect.

"HOW LONG, O LORD....?"

"There are no methods of repression"—words spoken by Mr. Macpherson in reply to Lord Cavendish Bentinck (C.U.), who asked: "How much longer does the Government intend to rely on methods of repression in the government of the people of Ireland?" *What* a question to put to a "*just*" Government!

IRISH HOUSING.

Great acclamation from the Irish benches for Mr. Macpherson's Housing Bill for Ireland! The Treasury is to subsidise the scheme where the rateable value of the urban area is less than £200,000—all but Dublin and Belfast, which must borrow in the open market. As a proof of the necessity of the Bill the Chief Secretary said that in Dublin "340 out of every 1,000 of the population live in one-room tenement houses." "Happy and contented people" live in the labourers' cottages in rural districts! This remark ought to have put Irish members on the defensive, for those said cottages in many districts are a disgrace to the building trade, and as for beauty, nothing more inartistic could have been devised. Let it be hoped that Sinn Fein defeats this new plan to enmesh Ireland still more!

ARMY SPIES.

May 14th.—Mr. Adamson (Lab.) drew attention to the War Office circular published in *The Daily Herald* in reference to procuring statistics of soldiers willing to be used for strike breaking. Capt. Guest acknowledged the authenticity of the document, which was issued to commanding officers three months ago. Mr. Bonar Law made it clear that the War Office, in the person of Mr. Churchill, had been responsible for this action. Further discussion has been promised on this question. Labour can then show its power if it will!

THE "GROSSEST HYPOCRISY."

A motion to protest against Government tactics in Ireland was put by Mr. Hartshorn (Lab.). Ancient history was again recalled, and had it not been for two statements one might have called the whole business a waste of time. It gave Lord Cavendish Bentinck (C.U.) a chance of declaring himself in favour of independence for Ireland: "Inasmuch as it is *the only white nationality which has not yet been given the power of self-government, it causes us to stand in the eyes of the world convicted* of the grossest hypocrisy." And Lord Hugh Cecil (C.U.) took the opportunity to tell the House that "*historically you can find no real claim for Ireland to be a nation....but the real truth is that history does not very much matter.*" It seems like it!!! Mr. Macpherson, true to the precedent of the Irish Chief Secretaries, trumped up "atrocities" committed by the Irish and, full of righteousness, asked would the Labour Party wish the Government to bargain "with a set of revolutionaries who are determined to have nothing to do with the British Empire...." ? Yet that same Empire has dealings with Bohemia and Poland!!!

DEPORTATION.

May 15th.—"I am not aware that there have been any cases of unjustifiable deportation," said Sir H. Greenwood to Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, who advocated an appeal tribunal for aliens.

STRIKE BREAKING.

Capt. Guest admitted that reports are still being sent in to the War Office in reply to the circular recently reprinted in *The Daily Herald*. *No order has yet been issued to discontinue same.*

WASTE.

Major-General Seely told the House that the destruction of the new aeroplanes at the Cove Camp, Farnborough, was chosen as the least of three alternatives!

MILITARISM.

Capt. Guest stated that the army of occupation now in Ireland numbers 58,362 troops.

EGYPT.

The subject of the present disturbances in Egypt was raised by Capt. Wedgwood Benn (L.). It was amusing to learn his views on English as the official law language, he said that "it is quite obvious that it is a proper thing." At the same time he deplored the manner in which this law was introduced. Mr. Spoor (Lab.) detailed stories of atrocities committed by British troops. Mr. Harmsworth for the Government was full of righteous indignation; finally assuring those present that Egypt would get an "increasing share in the management of Egypt"!!! Can you ask anything better?

LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

May 16th.—The Labour Party introduced a Bill to enable local authorities to act without referring to Parliament as at present. Mr. N. McLean (Lab.) introduced it; but no one favoured the measure, which was talked out. According to Mr. Glanville (L.) only six members of the Labour Party were present.

M. O'C.

AN INCITEMENT TO POGROMS.

DEAR EDITOR,—I want to protest through the medium of THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT against the sinister character of the meeting held at the Cannon Street Hotel on May 15th by the National Party on the 'Peril of Bolshevism.' The chief speaker was Prof. Paul Miliukov (late Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of Russia). He made a speech in favour of military intervention without even breathing the word "intervention." Lord Ampthill was in the chair and Brigadier-General H. Page Croft was also present. Lord Ampthill, after stating that neither the Coalition nor any other Party, *except* the "National Party," was capable of coping with the Bolshevik peril in England, gave an alarming picture of the growth of that dread "disease," which was financed from abroad and had spread through the length and breadth of the land. However, said Lord Ampthill, no disease can spread unless the germs are carried far and wide, and who are the carriers? Here he made a dramatic pause and gave the following answer amidst the thunderous applause of the audience: "The Jews of the whole world are the carriers of this fell disease." To prove this he quoted an article in *The Jewish Chronicle* which said that the ideals of Bolshevism were the ideals of Judaism, and he also stated, as a further proof, that Shinwell of Glasgow was a Jew.

Brigadier-General H. Page Croft gave an account of his activities in the House of Commons, which have led to the expulsion of Maxim Litvinov and the recent deportation of three hundred Russians. This abrogation of the right of asylum was also greeted with thunderous applause.

Prof. Miliukov looked uncomfortable during the chairman's remarks and seemed ill at ease all through his speech, refusing to deal with Bolshevik atrocities, although Lord Ampthill had whetted the appetite of the audience for same. No Russian politician (unless he be a member of the Black Hundred) will stoop to Jew baiting, or what is known in Russia as "the policy of pogroms." It has come to my knowledge that Prof. Miliukov has since May 15th dissociated himself from the policy of the National Party, as outlined by Lord Ampthill at the Cannon Street Hotel.

The comic element was provided by Lord Ampthill's inclusion of Arthur Henderson and David Lloyd George in the list of dangerous Bolsheviks, and by his assertion that Nationalisation is sure to lead to Bolshevism.

The promoters of the meeting have the ambition of raising a £50,000 fund, in order to hold similar meetings not only in halls but at all the street corners, so as to tell the man and the woman in the street that, not Bolshevism, but the *National Party* is the true friend of the people. No questions were allowed, and a young man at the back of the hall was thrown out for calling out "You cannot prove it" when the chairman was denouncing Robert Smillie.

ONE OF THE AUDIENCE.

THE RED FLAG IN IRELAND.

(Continued from page 1338.)

Mount Mellick workers marched to Maryborough. Before the procession started the police endeavoured to seize the Red Flag, "but the workers weren't having any." Having failed in their efforts the police busied themselves in taking names.

Street observed Labour Day. "Every worker doing the gent." The farmers of the district are described as "wondering what the world is coming to."

Dunshaughin was the scene of some excitement when the police endeavoured to take down the Red Flag. One result of their action was that the spokesman of the workers procured a supply of red material and distributed it amongst the people who displayed the colour prominently.

In Drogheda the Trades Council on receiving the warning from the police *re* Red Flag, decided to hold no celebration. The I.T. and G.W. Union members insisted on celebrating Labour Day, and they held a most successful demonstration at which the Red Flag was prominently displayed. Ballyclough workers marched to Mallow to take part in Labour Day demonstration, a distance of twenty miles. Cappoquin reports that Labour Day was a great success. As a result "Labour advanced to a solid position in the weak spots."

In one place in Co. Dublin the speaker turned the police warning into ridicule. Immediately after being warned by the police not to carry the Red Flag he mounted the platform and holding the Red Flag in his hand said, "The police object to me carrying the Red Flag. Well, I've carried a red head for over twenty years and nobody has ever objected to it."

And so I might go on through over a hundred reports but I think I have given sufficient to show that the workers of Ireland have definitely pledged their support to the banner of Labour.

NORA CONNOLLY.

"THE TRUE TRADITION."

In an article with the above sub-title, *The Times* tries to prove that non-intervention is by no means a tradition of British foreign policy. To substantiate this statement the tactics of George III. during the struggle in France against the Jacobin rule are related at some length. Bolshevism is the present substitute for "Jacobin oppression," *The Times* assures its readers, and the only difference between France during the Revolution and Russia now, lies in the fact that France "did not possess an Admiral Koltchak with a powerful army."

That "true tradition" apparently was "made in Germany," as most things sold here before the war. For King George III. was of German descent, since his mother was a German, Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, and his great grandfather George I., the son of the Elector of Hanover. As to the mentality of this *Englishman*, the progenitor of *English tradition*, whom we know was an imbecile, the historian Green writes: "He had a smaller mind than any English king before him since James II. He was wretchedly educated and his natural powers were of the meanest sort....In ten years he reduced government to a shadow and turned the loyalty of his subjects at home into disaffection. In twenty he had forced the American colonies into revolt and independence and brought England to what then seemed the brink of ruin." Macaulay has more than once referred to the Georgian ignorance of English. One must smile at the strenuous efforts of *The Times* to exculpate the interventionists; it must even go to a German! *We* thought that Bolshevism was a German tradition. It is all *so* confusing!!!

RUSSIA'S REACTIONARIES.

The Manchester Guardian of the 17th inst. published an interview with M. Kerensky. He is absolutely opposed to Koltchak, and said: "He is merely an instrument in the hands of unscrupulous reactionaries.... There is no promise under Koltchak rule of anything but military autocracy and a White Terror." The recognition of Koltchak would be a "crowning calamity" is M. Kerensky's opinion.

TIGHT BINDING.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Government is proposing to substitute compulsory unemployment insurance for the unemployment donation; the workers, employers, and Government to contribute 1*d.* a week, the benefit to be 10*s.* a week! Is the growing army of unemployed workers prepared to starve on that pittance?

VOTES FOR WOMEN ON EQUAL TERMS.

A vote of the House of Commons decides that women shall vote on equal terms with men. The Government opposed the clause and, if ancient history is to be taken as a precedent, the Government's opposition will prove insurmountable. But on such things governments are less determined than of yore; for the question now is how soon Parliament will disappear. The House of Commons also voted to allow peeresses to sit in the House of Lords—a Labour Party proposal!

AN ATTEMPT AT SEX EQUALITY.

Lord Aberdeen moved an amendment to the Irish Bill that the Council should be increased to ten and that half its membership should consist of women. But the Government resisted the proposal and, on the advice of Lord Haldane, Lord Aberdeen withdrew it.

ANOTHER SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

According to news received via Odessa from Bolshevik sources, a Provisional Government of workers and peasants has been formed in Bessarabia. This Government has published a manifesto in the name of the revolutionary workers and peasants and in that of the Bessarabian Red Army, proclaiming Bessarabia a Socialist, Sovietist, and Federative Republic, and outlawing the Roumanian Government. The Provisional Government orders the arrest of all the representatives of the Roumanian Government, decrees the division of all land among the peasants, and higher pay to all workers. It declares all banks, factories, workshops, and commercial enterprises the property of the Republic.—*L'Humanité*, May 10th.

THE DECOY DUCK.

In the *Volkstimme* of April 28th a warning against Arthur Henderson's advice is issued to the German workers. Mr. Henderson, at the Amsterdam Congress, urged Germany to sign the Peace Treaty, insinuating that later on the terms may be mitigated. *Volkstimme* refers to Mr. Henderson as the "decoy duck," who acts with the *raffinement* of a diplomat in advising Germany to sign its death sentence. It then points out that the signing of the Treaty will bind them irrevocably, but that the refusal to sign might gain the sympathy of the Entente workers.

BOLSHEVISM IN BULGARIA.

The Times reports that Bolshevism is growing in Bulgaria; the soldiers have refused to fire on the Bolshevik workers.

WHO ARE THE FORGERS?

Reuter reports on the authority of the *Zeitung am Mittag* that the Russian Soviet Government is forging foreign bank notes. A short time ago the confession of an American officer that the U.S.A. authorities had forged Russian money was debated in Congress. The present report may either be an echo transformed or a case of tit for tat!

CONTROLLERS PROTECT PROFITEERS.

The D.O.R.A. order, got out to make a strike of the E.T.U. a punishable offence, could be made to apply to the milk dealers who, in various parts of the country, have lately been refusing to deliver milk until their demand for a price higher than that fixed by the Food Controller is paid. If the workers were on strike there would be a great outcry that babies and invalids were dying for lack of milk, but the boot is on the other foot now. This is a "business Government," and, as such, it considers that its duty is to protect the profiteers. The Food Controller does not resort to legal coercion to enforce his order, though he might easily do so if he chose. Nor does the Controller retort by refusing other commodities to the striking dealers. Indeed, when the workers of a certain district did so the Controller promptly conceded the dealers' demands. During the Limerick strike, the Wheat Commission issued an order that no flour was to be released from the mills to Limerick whilst the strike continued.

DODECANESE.

The Bishop of Rhodes complains of an attack by the Italian army of occupation upon a peaceful demonstration of the Greek people of the Dodecanese, who form, he says, nine-tenths of the population. The Greeks were asking that the Dodecanese should be united to Greece. A priest and a woman were killed and 100 people were wounded.

CHURCHILL'S CANDOUR.

"Self-determination is one of those ridiculous expressions which were coined by the Bolsheviste in the early days of the attack upon the prosperity and freedom of the Russian people." This is what Winston Churchill said at Dundee the other day; but he did not say it when the Allied capitalist Governments pretended to be fighting for the self-determination of all peoples!

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INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Anti-Democratic Proposals.

"*The number of voters will be raised under the scheme to* 5,179,000, *being* 2.34 *per cent of the total population in the eight provinces, which is nearly* 220,000,000."

This provision should be enough in itself to discredit the sham proposals now put forward as establishing self-government for India. Lord Southborough's Committee, which was appointed to work out the franchise schema for India, having suggested votes for 2.34 per cent of the men of India, decided that it would be premature to allow any percentage of the women to vote.

Separate electorates are to be set up for Indian Christians, Europeans, and Anglo-Indian minorities, which are to be privileged, we suppose, beyond the general mass in an ascending order. The enfranchisement of all retired and pensioned officers of the Indian Army is recommended! There is to be special representation of landholders, and of "commerce and industry," of the bosses, we suppose: a sort of Soviet of capital it appears.

"There is to be nomination for the representation of the 'depressed classes,' for," says *The Times*, "in no case was it found possible to provide an electorate on any satisfactory system of franchise. Labour is to be represented by nomination, where the industrial conditions seem likely to give rise to labour problems."

The problem of grossly sweated labour is present in every industry in India, but "labour problems" means, in capitalist parlance, labour unrest which is grave enough to be dangerous. The admission that there are "depressed classes" is one of which the Capitalist Imperialists should be ashamed, but their consciences are of a peculiarly impervious kind. "Representation by nomination" is, of course, a sham and no representation at all. It will be remembered that the elected representatives of India are only to be allowed to discuss those subjects which the British authorities think fit, and that the Representative Council has no power to enforce its decisions.

The Soviet system, because of its Communist basis, could be immediately applied with success in India; it is the system which the Indian masses would certainly adopt, if freed from the dominion of Britain and of their own princes and capitalists.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, MAY 23rd.

The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, MAY 24th.

Great Push against Conscription and for a Peoples' Peace in Waterloo Road.—Meetings at 3 P.M. and 7 P.M. near the "Old Vic." Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss O'Neill, Mrs. Walker, and others.

SUNDAY, MAY 25th.

Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss O'Neill.

Trafalgar Square.—3.30 P.M., Peace Terms Demonstration.

Dock Gates.—7.30 P.M., Walter Ponder. Chair: Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, MAY 30th.

Cobden Statue (near Mornington Crescent Tube Station).—7 P.M., Mrs. Walker, J. G. Stone.

SATURDAY, MAY 31st.

Great Push in Walthamstow.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, MAY 26th.

20 Railway Street.—7.30 P.M., Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting.—8.30 P.M., Poplar W.S.F. Reading Circle.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

FRIDAY, MAY 23rd and 30th.

East London Workers' Committee, 400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M.

SUNDAY, MAY 25th.

400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee (Monthly Meeting).

TUESDAY, MAY 27th.

Walthamstow League of Rights.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road—3 P.M., Mrs. Walker.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

COLLECTIONS.—Mrs. Walker, £5 9s. 6d.; Tower Hill, 8s.; Poplar W.S.F., 4s.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mr. and Mrs. Sadd-Brown (10s. weekly), £8; Mrs. M. Boswell (monthly), £2; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), 16s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Miss J. T. Drewry (monthly), 10s.; Miss Limouzine, 2s. 1½d. COLLECTIONS.—E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 11s. 8½d.

CLOTHES.—Miss Gliksten, Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Bush, Mr. Binyon, Mrs. Boswell.

Come and hear **Mr. SKENE McKAY, A.S.E.,**

At STANLEY STREET, SHEFFIELD.
SUNDAY, MAY 25th, 6.30 P.M.

Subject: 'THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.'

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